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The original text:

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A túlélés szociológiája: Az 1941-es budapesti zsidó népesség csoportjainak jelenléte az 1945-ös népességben

MÚLT ÉS JÖVŐ 24 : 4 pp. 85-90. , 6 p. (2014)

http://www.multesjovo.hu/hu/aitdownloadablefiles/download/aitfile/aitfile_id/2763/

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Péter Tibor Nagy

Sociology of the survivor

The presence of groups of the 1941 Jewish population in Budapest in the 1945

Budapest population

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There are two versions there was a hypothesis of harsh hypothesis [1] (cf. Erős 2007, Karády 2002, Karsai 2001, Komoróczy 2000, Kovács 1984, Várdy 2010).

The two hypotheses are not simply professional historians' but as a Holocaust narrative (on the one hand) with the Holocaust alternatives to face-to-face, on the other hand, in the anthropological and / or philosophical issue the Holocaust " or "non-historical" phenomenon.

One of the hypotheses is that there is no sociological message about the Holocaust. According to this narrative, the Jewish laws have designated two persons with socially relevant information, the denomination and the grandparents' denomination, and then their associates. and the final solution of this elimination is the Hungarian and German states killed the designated ones. The Holocaust's specificity is seen by many as opposed to other persecutions and massacres of history that the mechanism of the Holocaust did not make any distinction between men and women, adults and children, educated and schooled. between the rich and the poor. The rescue and rescue stories are fundamentally unique and individual, *historically random*.

The other hypothesis is that there is any difference unprecedented in the murderous *intent of the Shechem massacre* *ressége* socially systematic. Individual factors, authority within Jewish society, solidarity among members of non-Jewish society that are individuals or families they were able to escape, socially unlikely to be affected. Therefore, the probability of surviving the Holocaust is *not random*. The latter is a narrative of the past he puts the Holocaust in our history (what's more, in the history of Hungary) with the imagination of "natural disaster" or "supernatural blow" - and excuse - it shows what happened meadow - in history before and after - as a result of the actions, interests and moral decisions of our fellow citizens, so that - to be quite didactic - could have happened differently, they could have joined more they could also extend the range of rescuers and so on.

The Holocaust reminiscent of both hypotheses it has been a huge success, since it has become a lot who were supposed to flee in the event of any social logic, selectivity, but also discussions about Jewish councils, the composition of the Kasztner group discourse on selection attention was drawn to the rescue hunts - matikusságára.

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Efforts to mobilize pre-Holocaust and post-Holocaust Jews - most recently, Viktor Karády - are necessarily sources of resources bear the limitations of their purity. The census of the 1930s and 1941s presents the socio-demographic relation of the Jewish people in great detail. but only the most basic data are provided by zsi - composition of Jewish law and the 1949 census only you divisional data. Although these census sources are extremely important, they cannot carry the social specificity of the destruction of the holocaust for simple methodological reasons. There are five factors that are inextricably mixed:

a.) Budapest Holocaust and country *singer ny ye t o e n e* a different course and *your* sense of *well-rt* different devastation of the sea

b.) the systematic social system that among the Jews who were still registered in 1941, who were already Buddhist in 1944 he was a Pest resident

c.) the systematic nature of the Buddha Pest ghettos, deaths, concentration camps, and labor - originally rural - Jews who returned to their hometown and who stayed in Bu or left the country

d.) the systematic way in which the survivors changed their occupation between 1945 and 1949, using the possibilities that non-Jewish officials, violence 1945 and 1947-48

e.) the systematic fact that, unlike in 1930 or 1941, it was somewhat widespread for the time of the 1949 census. off-line status selection page who wanted to live and who did not

Everyone knows that solving a five-knit equation from a single equation - the data pair that is the 1941 and 1949 Jews it carries aggregate data - it couldn't be ges. Independent of the two censuses, it publishes no statistics were applied to the filter these effects can be clearly separated (Stark 1995 41-75, Jewish World Congress, Buletin No. 1, Febary 15, 1947 4-5, Karády 2002, 68-74).

Sufficiently multi-dimensional source research is *just* down Being able to take a specific systematic selection of *individuals* before the Holocaust will be followed, and we will try to find the same individuals after the liberation.

In other words, *instead of* examining statistical aggregates, *a* prosopographic, single element (findability) of mass biography production we make a decision.

Our joint research with Viktor Karády has created several named databases over the past twenty years, me We can also try to examine the systematic nature of Holocaust survival by using these.

The narrowest, yet powerful, database is the Busting Elite Database. The *Hungarian Biographical Lexicon* - *in*, or *in the Hungarian Great Lexicon* players, and even in persons born in 1941 life before 1910 are statistically satisfactory we can identify those who are Jewish involved. This definition is different in-depth databases can help: the 1929 *Hungarian Jewish Lexicon*, the World War II (edited by self-definition) in jewish magazines, series of books as authors, translators, illustrators, zsi of non-members of intellectuals who are not members of the Hungarian Chamber of Laws, the 1944 Kolosváry-Borcsa bibliography for preparing Hungarian they were identified as a Jew in the group. Not the whole circle of Jewish people, but we can grab the Jewish people for the high school personal lists of university lecturers and university enrollments registers.

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• N b r a i n P t
S O C I O L O G Y O F E X C E S S I O N

If, in a statistical sense - that is, never fully and never with complete security - we have identified all of the lexicon players who are today the german and the german state are destined to death, then they survive between 1945 and 1941 and 1945 *csoportspezifikusan* a difference between poets determine the likelihood of survival. Based on the biographical lexicon we can consider several factors: occupation, age, alien or Hungarian

laughter, the place of birth almost always order but is generally relevant - statistical coverage we can encode the data - our data is the position of the 30s, 40s, the place of operation, the Kolai's path of life, the objectivity of domestic and foreign recognition. All these factors could have played a role in the probability of survival.

Another kind of source - and only information about the Jewish people - is the world of high school and university registers. The framework for learning restrictions between high school and university students -

Between 1941 and 1944, there were Jews amongst its authors and obtain data from enrollment registers we can have sex, their name, their place of education anyway, very often their parents will place of birth, place of residence and place of residence. Some of these students and students continue their studies after 1945, and if not everyone is dead we cannot find in the post-1945 registers, stain a purely sense, we can discover systematic differences in what you find and find social background of people affected, group between the two countries.

Our third database is the 1941 census and the 1945 census of the apartments and dwellers in Budapest. - comparing the two. These two databases are therefore va he is a person from all social groups in Budapest it provides serial data, in principle we could try to find all persons living in Budapest in 1941 in the 1945 census. Of course only in principle, since the 1945 insecurity can be independent of the Holocaust: nature death or abandonment. The number of persons missing in 1945 is also increased by the labor service still in prison.

But despite this, it is the only source that makes it possible to personally identify personally by the Holocaust before and after the Holocaust (and irrespective of the level of education in the contemporary Jewish society). - persons available. This extraordinary opportunity is ready that this is only the data in this writing deal with a base pair.

The theoretical possibility is of course only tens You will realize it after a pre-investment of HUF million it would require a complete fixation of the record archives stored in hundreds of boxes in the capital's archives.

In the 2000s, he ran from our resources to a 5% sample. The sample was made - and this technical detail later becomes important - to determine the number of flat sheets in each of the archive boxes, and back to the back (deepest) apartment in the box we recorded 5% of the flat sheets in each box. Last hand inside the box Accurate street name and house included in the flat the number goes further inside the box so that the apartments in the house are fully fixed. This is the additional rule of the sock in the inner districts of houses with small houses, slightly reduced the size of the sample in the outer districts dominated by less dwelling houses but this bias was worth taking because of the radical increase in the number of fully analyzed houses.

The samples taken from the census of 1941 and 1945 are therefore separately representative, but if only the 5% sampling point applies, then the sample overlap would be very small, only the resident would be 0.25% of the total, which is - although the or it is the biggest Jewish community in the world - arrow it would probably not be enough to survive for occupational-specific assessment.

However, the situation is much better. Because the box size is not optimal for each box In the same way, some flat dwellings were used in a manner that exploited the former architects in the last house of a statistical census area. was placed in the box and then - independent from the relative emptiness of the box - a new box was opened for the houses and flats in the next counting area. The boundaries of the counting area in 1941 were exactly where, in 1945, the counting circle of houses also seems to be bound.

The sampling method described above - what is it? in 1941 and 1945 separately rep resentative - this rule of box arrangement follows The consequence is that there are many houses that fell into both shots.

In 1941, out of the 2956 houses we examined, there were Jewish residents in 1024. (By the way: there are Jewish majority in 212, but there are only 26 houses, and these are small family houses where only Jews live.) So, in 1941 - although there are districts in Budapest, Jewish top and underrepresentation signs Disk - Social and Historical Market Flow mats created a powerful mix between Jewish and non-Jewish populations.

CHRISTIANS ES JEWELERY IN SAMPLE

	Christian	Hebrew	Jewish not Israelite	all
man	28 574	6184	702	35460
woman	35243	6980	739	42 962
all	68 062	13245	1447	82 754

The proportion of Israelites in our sample is 16.0% counting 15.8%, thus random sampling
- as it was expected - very well. In contrast, it is Jewish under racial law The proportion of non-Israelites in our sample is 1.7%, while the census is 3.3%. The difference is spectacular. Obviously, the flat is some sort of *hiding opportunity* was given during writing

- for those who are only publicized by the Jewish law Jews - but the circumstances are no longer reconstructed. (Probably the people's account national statistical office and flat census capital office different inspector The hiding is not a distortion of the gender ratio - 48.3% of men, 48.5% of men are categorized as Jewish by Jewish law in the sample. The subordinates of the Jews there is no strong distortion in terms of its composition: only Reformed Jews appear to be somewhat under-represented.

THE STRUCTURAL COMPOSITION OF NON-ISRAELS LIKE THE JEWELER

	Number of People	Népszám-	sample
	-fed	-fed	in
<i>rk.</i>	13966	63.1	64.5
<i>gkat.</i>	127	0.6	1.0
<i>ref.</i>	4232	19.1	16.5
<i>year.</i>	3222	14.6	15.0
<i>gkel.</i>	137	0.6	0.3

unit.	299	1.4	2.0
knowledge.	139	0.6	0.8
	22122	100	100

Karády's hypothesis is that the Jewish-like Ke the probability of survival is higher, as they probably have Christian rock with women and friends who can help them, so we can't really test this sample because we can rightly assume that the (1.6%) crowd can hide being a Jew who, according to this logic, is more likely to survive later.

But indirectly we can prove that the cross Fact Relationships Measurably Improve Survival Chances. For those Jews whose spouses are *not* considered Jews, 36.8% are in the same apartment in 1945 as in 1941, while only 19.7% of those with a Jewish spouse. A ke so the royal spouse increased it by 1.9 times life chance. (The percentage of percentages is always a problematic indicator, as 90% would hardly be a multiple of 80%. groups with pop-up probabilities.)

From the point of view of the occupational position, the more educated, educated, "top" persons are better - chance of living. This is within smaller categories, each other This is confirmed by the presentation of comparable aggregates. Although the aggregates are different and, as with all categorization, the category we can also argue that "up When comparing the fate and chances of those who are "and" down ", the same relationship is always seen in each case.

The 1941 professional work affected by the Jewish Law we find a lot of 24.1% in 1945, for auxiliary work for many, only 15.7%, the "profession" raised the chances of survival by 1.5 times in the bottom half of my song. Among the factors explaining this difference in survival, obviously today higher education, higher income, pol with stronger relationships fed by the community - old it is also unlikely that skilled workers will min they were also more organized, and a modest left-wing rescue capacity was obviously more targeted at them.

Human intelligentsia is not easy to divide into groups. 21.4% of public sector employees - teachers, museum staff - are found in 1945, while private among the actors in the sphere - journalists and artists only 15.8% here. Of course, the year 1944, when the murder va its probability increases very much, these intellectuals still in public in 1941 were no longer public servants. However, this circumstance only makes it more spectacular that they have a greater chance of survival than a private library Saiki. After all, if you take a position between 1941 and 1944 - the person concerned is more likely to move to the otherwise publicly owned housing shelter already in this period leased from his rented apartment, so even out more likely to find the same apartment in 1945. So the above data, according to the public The chances of survival of the human intellectuals in question are 1.4-fold against private-sector intellectuals;

If teachers, cultural civil servants around In the position we assume a loss between 1941 and 1945, the more it can be assumed in the *Middle level* civil servants, as the leading position The attractiveness of the \ t it was obviously bigger, so more effort was made in the positions of those who were sitting in such positions also for removal of agents. However, the availability of these mid-level civil servants in 1945 is 31.3%. This figure seems particularly high compared to 16.7% for low-level civil servants. So the former manager's position increases the chance of survival 1.9 times. He's totally alone the former middle management civil servants could no longer be in the position of summer-autumn 1944, but it is also clear that their relationships can survive in non-Jewish society and remained more prominent in ghetto society.

There is much less difference in the private sector, but the direction is the same. With the 27.8% probability of leading private officials appearing at the bottom 22.7% that is just 1.2 times the chance being.

By grouping the occupations, it is clear that among those belonging to comparable occupational categories, there was always a greater chance of surviving a higher position, or who worked in the "dual society" public service branch. we can hypothesize: social relations, not least Christian society The Strength of Relationships Related

to Undemocratic Departments - That a Higher Person or a Public Employee could Easier Build as a Subordinate Person as a Private Employee - Affected Directly or Indirectly colored accountable.

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Regardless of the occupational position, the rich can be interpreted as a self-empowering factor - strength. Though enrichment enriched by wealth attracts killer enthusiasm and hidden values as well as the resulting death the greater the risk to the more affluent man, overall the riches still improved the rain life chances were more likely to buy food on the black market and for false papers, or police, arrows, etc. and bribes were also money. The higher the tooth The above-mentioned survival chances with an employment position can be interpreted here as well. But the impact of wealth is more clearly shown by the big industry Wholesalers' findability in 1945 was 42.0%, compared to only 23.8% for craftsmen and merchants, showing a 1.8-fold chance of favoring the richer group.

We may also assume that the special skills, knowledge required for the ghetto can improve the chances of survival, or override the civilian life. hierarchy under conditions. E up Our assumption was partly true. The degree workers and craftsmen are obviously more educated, but more knowledgeable, better able to endure physical exertion they have a better chance of being married than freelance intellectuals with a small public or a low-ranking private officer wearers.

Surprisingly, however - and I confess to this I didn't really find an explanation for the shoot - my partner at the other end of this is the practical utility "as if there was no return: the probability of a 21.4% emergence of doctors is low, but the 29.6% chance of lawyers is high, though the" utility principle "is the opposite. wind down. Hypothetical, but far from unsatisfactory holly shake that ghetto health conditions are more about drugs and health up flaws in assembly were a problem as lack of skilled people. If this is the case, then the types of capital of lawyers are the subject of the authorities better ability of police officers to arrive at the police - apparently a higher number offset that legal knowledge is more modest in the conditions that call into question mere survival, can be converted into food, or a few squares more space than health knowledge. You can also play a role - as Karády Vik reads this text as a friendly favor tor drew my attention - that the doctor's body In the United States, the extreme right was the extreme right - 36% of the Christian doctors in Budapest Leadership rate. So the orphan there were obviously fewer people who - taking the risk - helped his Jewish fellow in need, and there were many who took the destruction of a competitor under his name, or even actively contributed to it.

All in all, at the beginning of the study the second hypothesis is true of the ball. The likelihood of survival is not simply the event-historically well-known or anthropologically well-understood circumstances - that is, Buddhism / dignity or age - but the place occupied by the inner stratification of the Jewish society in Budapest, with the rescue possibilities obviously much better. the distance from non-Jewish society was also clearly

influenced. This is - if it is small - also confirms that holocaust is not "out of history", but rather into it - in other words, Hungarian society must be considered an embedded event.

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[1] The study is based on two lectures. One at the invitation of Randolph Braham and András Kovács at the CEU 2014 Holocaust Conference in English, and at the invitation of the other George Eisen and Tamás Majsai at the 2014 Holocaust Conference of WJLF and Nazareth College in Hungarian.